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## THE ASSASSINATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

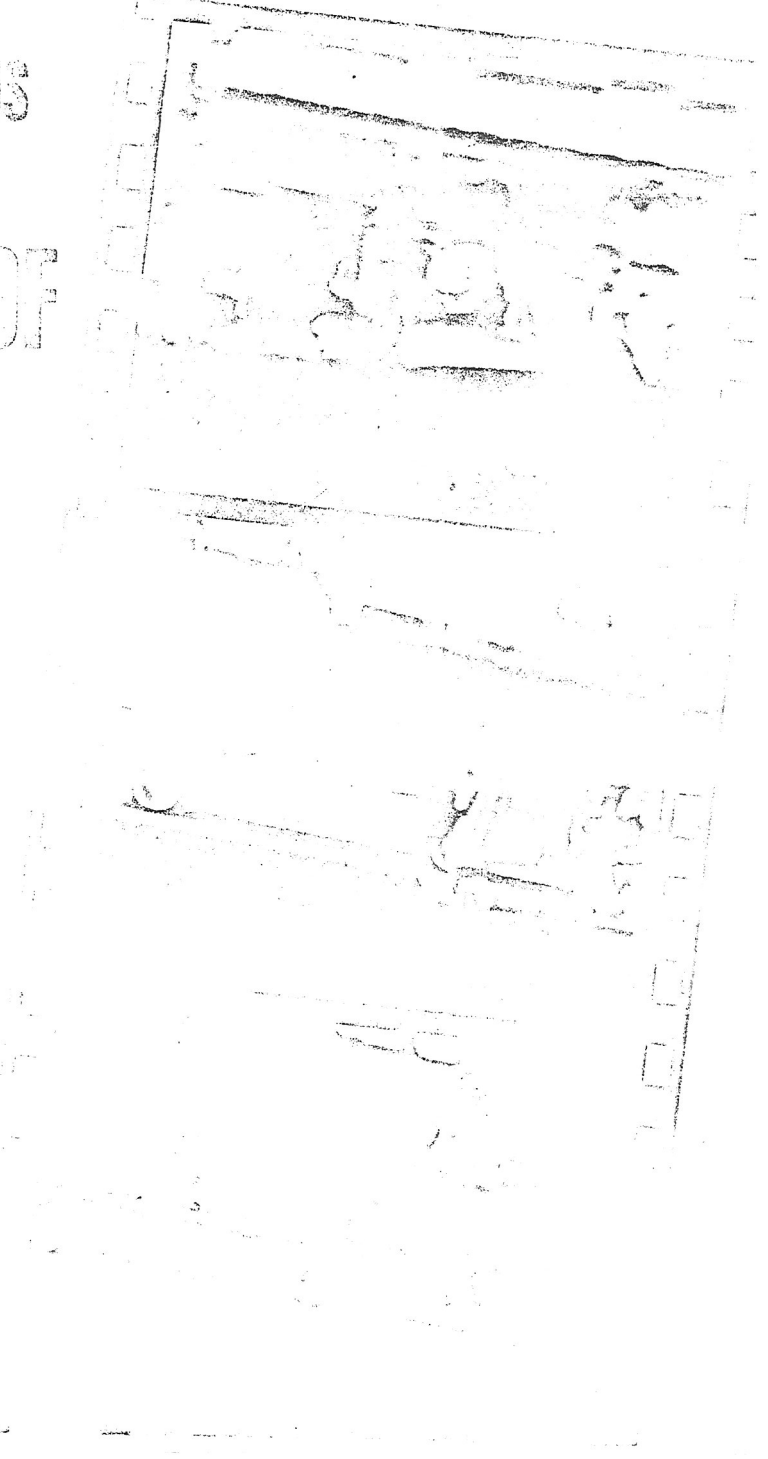
WHAT THE WARREN REPORT  
DIDN'T TELL

THE BEEHIVE

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ADDITIONAL

- WHY DID OSWALD ASSASSINATE THE PRESIDENT?
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ARTICLE-CONDENSATION OF BOOK  
BY ALBERT H. NEWMAN

# THE ASSASSINATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY

## THE REASONS WHY!

### WHAT THE WARREN REPORT DIDN'T TELL

On a New York street one day in early 1953, a woman handed a thirteen-year-old boy a leaflet that urged sparing the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, a couple convicted in 1951 of conspiracy to commit espionage against the United States for the Soviet Union. The Rosenbergs died in the electric chair at Sing Sing Prison, June 19, 1953; and that autumn, soon after school resumed, the boy who had read and remembered the leaflet got into trouble. "He has consistently refused to salute the flag during early-morning exercises," his teacher complained in a written report dated October 21. Trivial though it may seem, this constituted Lee Harvey Oswald's first public gesture of ideological protest against the government of the United States.

Six years and three months later, in Moscow, the twenty-year-old Oswald told interviewer Aline Mosby of UPI: "I'm a Marxist. . . . I became interested about the age of fifteen [sic]. From an ideological viewpoint. An old lady handed me a pamphlet about saving the Rosenbergs. . . . I looked at that paper and I still remember it for some reason. I don't know why."

On that occasion, Oswald was in the process of defecting to the USSR. He had applied for Soviet citizenship and, in attempting to sever his ties with his native land, told United States consular authorities he had offered to deliver to the Soviet Union the secrets he had been exposed to during a hitch in the Marines as a radio and radar specialist. These acts of the autumn of 1959 constituted Lee Harvey Oswald's second public gesture of ideological protest against the United States.

Four years after that, at twelve-thirty p.m. on November 22, 1963, in Dallas, the same man assassinated John F. Kennedy, thirty-fifth President of the United States, with two bullets spewed by an Italian military rifle fired from the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository, his place of work. The second bullet that hit the President, as he rode west on Elm Street in the back seat of an open car, killed him outright, to all intents and purposes.

Was the perpetration of this horror Lee Harvey Oswald's supreme ideological protest against the government of the United States?

The Dallas police seized the murder weapons quickly enough: the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle found on the sixth floor of the Book Depository and the Smith & Wesson snub-nosed Commando revolver that had taken the life of Patrolman J. D. Tippit fifteen minutes after the President was pronounced dead at one p.m. The pistol was wrested from Oswald's right hand by Patrolman M. N.

McDonald after a scuffle in the Texas Theater on Jefferson Boulevard in Oak Cliff. By nightfall of November twenty-second, seven expended cartridge cases—three for the rifle, four for the revolver—had been recovered from the two crime scenes. All were later found under microscopic examination by experts to have been fired from these weapons (traced by serial numbers to mail orders written by Oswald) to the exclusion of any other two similar weapons ever manufactured.

The police also seized a Russian-made portable radio. So little attention was paid this find that the Commission staff failed to give it an exhibit number (though each expended cartridge case had one) or even to have it photographed. It is to be found as an item on a list buried in the middle of Exhibit 2003, a mammoth compilation of Dallas police information on Oswald's crimes. The list is an inventory of Oswald's possessions and papers found

Why did Oswald  
assassinate  
the President?

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# Why did Oswald conspire to kill General Walker?

in searches of his rooming house, 1026 North Beckley Street in the Oak Cliff section of Dallas, and at the residence of Mrs. Ruth Hyde Paine in suburban Irving, where his Russian-born wife, Marina, lived as a nonpaying guest and where Oswald spent weekends between October 4 and November 11, 1963.

Also on that list—surely a most indicative collection of motivational evidence—are two paperbacks by Ian Fleming (from whose inventive brain, by the way, Oswald may have plucked the notion of concealing himself in a theater), 173 handbills reading "Hands Off Cuba! Join the FPCC" (Fair Play for Cuba Committee), four pamphlets of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers party, stating its revolutionary objectives, a brochure of the New York School for Marxist Study (fall term, 1963), three speeches of Fidel Castro in pamphlet form, and twenty-six other pamphlets from the headquarters of the now-defunct FPCC, most of them detailing the Kennedy administration's "crimes" against the Cuban people. Also listed are several photographs of Dr. Castro himself, one of which, according to the testimony of Oswald's uncle, had occupied a place of honor on the mantelpiece of the Oswalds' apartment in New Orleans the summer just before Lee shot the President.

Photographs, testimony, and propaganda library all go unmentioned in the *Warren Report*, which admits it "could not make any definitive determination of Oswald's motives."

What stands out immediately is the Warren Commission's failure to consider the murder of John F. Kennedy as a political crime (though murder of a chief of state nearly always is), and yet it concludes that Oswald's April 10, 1963 attempt on the life of ultra-rightist General Edwin A. Walker was political—"in furtherance of his beliefs" (italics mine). Surely, if anything in this world is evident, it is that all three of the prominent men—Walker, Nixon and Kennedy—who attracted Oswald's hostile glare were political figures and that it therefore seems likely that ideology dominated the killer's acts. Far from being an obstruction, the facts that Kennedy's views on segregation and almost all other issues were opposed to those of Walker, and that Kennedy and Nixon had been the major antagonists in the election of 1960, are definitive in isolating the assassin's motive.

For Kennedy, Nixon and Walker possessed only one political-ideological area of total agreement—a common denominator, as it were:

All three men were outspoken opponents of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.

Two prime sources of the intellectual

fuel that fed Oswald's fanatical and self-admittedly Marxist mind were the *Worker* of the U.S. Communist party and *The Militant*, the high-octane unofficial organ of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers party. According to the testimony of Marina, Oswald read the *Worker* during his stay in Russia (though the *Warren Report* fails to mention this relevant fact), then resubscribed to it August 6, 1962, less than two months after his return from Minsk to Fort Worth. He subscribed to *The Militant* in mid-December of that year. Violently opposed in certain ideological aspects (*The Worker* is Moscow oriented; *The Militant*, being Trotskyite, is often critical of Moscow), they, too, possessed a common denominator in their deification of Fidel Castro and dedication to his cause.

The motivational evidence in the Kennedy case may be regarded as having three dimensions. Dimension I is set forth in the *Report*: "Clues to Oswald's motives may be found in his family history, his education or lack of it, his acts, his writings, and the recollections of those who had close contacts with him." Here, the Commission staff and co-operating government agencies did a prodigious job, amassing an almost complete record of Oswald's actions, travels, and writings.

Motivational Dimension II may be thought of as the printed word—accusations against President Kennedy in the *Worker* and *The Militant* read by Oswald, the unfolding of stirring news events concerning the United States and Cuba (in which Oswald would appear to have had great interest), the vicissitudes of General Walker, the assassin's original target, as he involved himself in the University of Mississippi desegregation crisis of September-October, 1962, and in turn became involved in the developing Cuban Missile Crisis of that autumn. Here the Commission staff defaulted totally. Time after time, its failure to scan even the headlines of back newspapers leads into blind alleys of mystery that, properly surveyed and linked, form a highroad of meaningful, patterned purpose on Oswald's part. To illustrate this point, let us examine, briefly, one such cul-de-sac in the *Report* in which Oswald, on an indefinite morning in late April, 1963 (quoting Marina Oswald's testimony) "finished reading a morning paper . . . and put on a good suit. I saw that he took a pistol. I asked him where he was going and why he was getting dressed. He answered 'Nixon is coming. I want to go and have a look.'" Oswald said he would use the pistol if the opportunity arose.

The *Report* then speculates about the date, Oswald left for New Orleans on April twenty-fourth. The Nixon incident occurred before that, while he was still in Dallas, and "Marina appeared certain that the Nixon incident 'wasn't the day before [the left]. Perhaps three days before.'"

According to Marina's testimony, Oswald had been reading the paper before his outburst. Three days before the

twenty-fourth would be the twenty-first. In the only major Nixon story of the entire month, the *Dallas Morning News* of Sunday, April twenty-first, splashed over its front page the following two-line headline and bank:

NIXON CALLS FOR DECISION  
TO FORCE REDS OUT OF CUBA  
Open U.S. Support  
Of Rebels Urged

This would seem to pin down not only the date but also what roused Oswald to a demonstration of anger—or at least ostensible anger, for it would appear that he had an ulterior motive—against Nixon. Yet to readers of the *Warren Report*, the matter of what Oswald might have had against the man who is now President remains a complete mystery.

To pursue Oswald's highroad further, it is also a fact totally unsuspected by the Commission that just two days before the assassin-to-be shot at Walker (on April 10, 1963) the general had returned to his Dallas home from an extended speaking tour on international communism, in the course of which, according to previous dispatches that appeared in the *Dallas Times Herald* and the *Trotskyite Militant*, he "proposed that the U.S. 'take the 82nd Airborne Division . . . and liquidate the scourge that had descended on Cuba.'"

To complete this chilling survey, what of the late President? He delivered his last major address in Miami on the evening of Monday, November 18, 1963. In it, he criticized Castro for betraying the ideals of the Cuban Revolution. The *Dallas Times Herald* of November nineteenth reported that he "all but invited the Cuban people to overthrow the regime of Castro and promised them U.S. support if they do." By Friday at one p.m. Dallas time, the speaker was dead.

Motivational Dimension III is international radio, the main battleground of the propaganda war, an important, ever-expanding sector of the Cold War.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Here Newman, a short-wave buff and student of propaganda, describes his growing conviction that Radio Havana's hate propaganda against the President and his Cuban policy played a large part in inciting the fanatical assassin.

Through news stories in early 1964, while the Warren Commission staff was beginning its labors and totally ignoring the possibilities of the radio Oswald had brought from Minsk, the author learned that (1) Oswald's specialty in the Marines had been air-ground communication, in which high-frequency radio is used; (2) upon his defection to Russia in 1959, Oswald had represented himself as schooled in electronics; (3) he was put to work in a radio-television manufacturing plant in Minsk. On release of the Warren Commission's twenty-six supporting volumes in November, 1964, Newman discovered two formidable indications that Oswald not only knew about short-wave propaganda but that his Russian receiver possessed a short-wave capability.

ty. The first, in "The Kollektive," a rough manuscript criticizing life in the USSR, was a reference to the jamming transmitters in Minsk, used to prevent Russians from listening to Radio Free Europe, although, as Oswald said, it was easy to get Radio Moscow in the United States. The second, in a letter to his brother Robert in Fort Worth, described how, in Minsk, he had listened to a certain broadcast of the Voice of America. So sure then was Newman of the Warren Commission's major error that he did not bother until mid-1966 to ascertain, through certain Washington contacts to the Department of Justice, that the FBI could verify the receiver's short-wave capability. Finally, in 1969, he visited the National Archives to inspect the receiver and have it photographed for the first time ever. It is a maroon, clock-sized portable with three white band-switching buttons on top.

Meanwhile, going through his files of material transcribed from tapes of Radio Havana, Newman uncovered a strange coincidence. On June 18, 1962, immediately on Oswald's return to Fort Worth from Minsk, the assassin-to-be hired a public stenographer to type up his notes for "The Kollektive," the manuscript critical of Russian life, presumably with a view to publication. For two days, Oswald and Miss Pauline Bates, the typist, worked. Then, on June twentieth, Oswald suddenly dropped the project for all time. What Newman discovered in his files was a lament for the Rosenbergs, broadcast from Radio Havana on June 19, 1962, the ninth anniversary of their execution as Soviet Spies. The part played by the Rosenbergs in attracting Oswald to Marxism has already been noted. Did this, asks the author, influence Oswald's action?

In his book, Newman presents numerous intercepts from Radio Havana, hostile to President Kennedy, US Cuban policy, and above all, the CIA, which after the Bay of Pigs fiasco of April, 1961 became a patsy for every charge the Cuban propagandists could invent. Perhaps the most revealing of these links the President with the CIA's alleged crimes. It was broadcast on October 24, 1963, four weeks before Oswald pulled the fateful trigger, on a night when Oswald was at his rooming house and probably, as his landlord observed, had retired early to "listen to his small radio."

"The CIA is the foremost organization of sabotage, espionage and subversion of the US imperialists. . . . The CIA acts under the direct orders of the President, in this case Mr. Kennedy, and is responsible only to him. . . . When they launch a pirate attack against the Cuban coastline, and murder a militiaman or a teacher, when they commit acts of sabotage against a Cuban vessel or an industry, they are acting under direct orders of the US President!"

Totally unaware of the capabilities of Oswald's little radio and probably ignorant of the propaganda war, the Warren Commission staff naturally failed

to ask Marina a single question about her husband's listening habits, although, since she understood virtually no English and was generally occupied with baby and housework, she probably had no idea what her husband was listening to. His outbursts of violent ill-temper puzzled her, for what probably often provoked them was Havana's English-language propaganda concerning the Kennedy administration's "crimes" against Cuba, which she would not have understood.

In any case, the reader must understand—as the *Warren Report* never gives him to understand—that Oswald's devotion to Cuba neither shocked nor alarmed Marina; she merely thought it too intense and all-consuming at times. "He was sympathetic to Castro [even] while in Russia, and I have also a good opinion of Castro to the extent that I know. I don't know anything bad about him [italics mine]."

## II: THE ONE THAT GOT AWAY

MOST writers who have dealt with the presidential assassination have riveted their readers' attention on Dealey Plaza at twelve-thirty p.m., November 22, 1963, to the practical exclusion of all other times and places. They have littered the area with unknown assassins, Oswald doubles and additional weapons, all of which have vanished without a trace. Virtually all have postulated conspiracies—none of them left-wing conspiracies, by the way—involving the presidential motorcade long before any motorcade was decided on. It should be firmly borne in mind that as of October fifteenth, when Oswald was hired at the Book Depository, no motorcade was planned, and it was not even certain that the President would visit Dallas; not until Friday, November fifteenth, did Washington decide on the luncheon site that determined the route; not until Saturday, November sixteenth, could Oswald or anyone else have known that the presidential procession would pass the Depository within rifle range. But on that day, as an avid newspaper reader and radio listener, Oswald could hardly have escaped learning of his opportunity.

Up to that pivotal Saturday, six days before the assassination, the John F. Kennedy case was actually what should be termed the Edwin A. Walker case.

As a proposition in logic, after Oswald fired at Walker, April 10, 1963, and missed, either (a) he dropped his intention to kill the right-wing general or (b) he retained it, meaning to try again at a future date. The Commission, by its failure to consider the possibility of (b), automatically assumed the validity of (a). But only in the light of Oswald's continued intent to do away with Walker can his actions of the summer and fall of 1963 be understood.

There are evidences during the pre-assassination period following Oswald's return to Dallas on October third, of criminal intent on his part—intentions that could not, at the time, have involved the life of the President. On Oswald's first night in Dallas at the

YMCA, he gave El Toro, California, rather than New Orleans or Mexico City, as his point of origin. When he registered at 1026 North Beckley Street on October fourteenth, he signed the alias of O. H. Lee. A day later, when he applied for work at the Book Depository, he concealed the Beckley Street address and gave Irving as his home, and he told his new boss that he was just out of the Marine Corps. And when he rented post office box 6225 on November first, he listed Beckley as his street but invented a nonexistent number that would have been miles from his real one.

These subterfuges were surely to throw off any possible future attempt by the FBI to locate him either before or after his projected—but not specifically planned—second attempt on General Walker's life. Oswald exercised the further precaution of not telling even Marina or Ruth Paine where he lived. All that either knew until the day of the assassination was "a rooming house in Oak Cliff."

In answer to the question "Did you notice any change in your husband after this trip to Mexico?" Marina testified: "In my opinion, he was disappointed at not being able to get to Cuba, and he didn't have any great desire to do so any more because he had run into—as he himself said—bureaucracy and red tape."

The author of the *Warren Report's* Chapter VII took this fragment of testimony—presented as opinion by a young woman who saw relatively little of her husband during this period—and amplified it into a monumental misconception that surely stultified the Commission's evaluation of Oswald's motive. For the point is crucial: "Although Oswald could possibly have been motivated in part by his sympathy for the Castro government, it should be remembered that his wife testified that he was disappointed with his failure to get to Cuba and had lost his desire to do so because of the bureaucracy and red tape he had encountered. His unhappy experience with the Cuban consul thus seems to have reduced his enthusiasm for the Castro regime and his desire to go to Cuba."

This statement overlooks, of course, the registration of Oswald as O. H. Lee, as well as other evasion tactics he practiced in October, or at least it reduces them to the level of a parlor game. Worse, it ignores Marina's later testimony in which she said she knew Oswald was still "crazy about Cuba" during this period but did not discuss it with her because she had heard so much on the subject during the summer in New Orleans that she had made it plain it annoyed her. It also consigns to oblivion the report of Captain Will Fritz, head of the Dallas Police Homicide and Robbery Bureau, on Oswald's first interrogation following his arrest on the afternoon of November twenty-second: "He . . . said that he supports the Castro Revolution." Worst of all, it ignores a most decisive piece of hard evidence: Holmes Exhibit 1.

## Why did Oswald also threaten the life of Nixon?

showing that when Oswald rented his new post-office box on November first, three weeks to the day before he assassinated the President, he listed the *Fair Play for Cuba Committee* as an organizational affiliation. Thus the Report's conclusion regarding Oswald's "reduced . . . enthusiasm for the Castro regime" simply does not stand up.

November first was Black Friday for Oswald. At the end of the workday, he rode to Irving for the weekend with Wesley Frazier, the young neighbor of Mrs. Paine who had been instrumental in getting him his job. On Oswald's arrival in Irving, he was greeted with the news that a few hours earlier, Agent James Hosty of the Dallas FBI had been there, had mentioned his pro-Castro summer activities in New Orleans, and had asked for his home address in Dallas.

This must have been shattering news. It was the first indication that the Dallas Bureau knew he existed. In the present circumstances, however, it was manifest to Oswald that he had been traced only to Irving, possibly through the license plate of Mrs. Paine's station wagon, in which the women and their children had left New Orleans September twenty-third, possibly through the forwarding address he had left the New Orleans postal authorities when he surrendered his New Orleans box. There was another consolation: at least, he had concealed the whereabouts of his rooming house from the women. However, before the birth of Marina's second child on October twentieth, Oswald had, as a matter of course, given Mrs. Paine his phone number at 1026 North Beckley to use in an emergency, quite forgetting in the stress of the moment that he was known there by an alias. The number had gone unused because the new daughter was born on a Sunday, when Oswald was in Irving. Now the telltale listing remained in Mrs. Paine's address book, its existence forgotten by Oswald and ignored by Mrs. Paine. On Friday, November fifteenth, a week before the assassination, Marina asked her husband not to come to Irving that weekend because of a children's party; but on Sunday, November seventeenth, she missed him and, remembering that Mrs. Paine had his phone number, decided to phone him in Dallas. According to the Report: "At Marina's request, Ruth Paine telephoned Oswald at the Beckley Avenue number. . . . When she asked for him, she was told that no one by that name lived at the address, which greatly surprised her."

Then, according to Marina: "When he telephoned me . . . on Monday [November eighteenth], I told him that we had telephoned him but he was unknown at that number. Then he said

that he had lived there under an assumed name. He asked me to remove the notation of the telephone number from Ruth's phone book, but I didn't want to do that. I asked him then, 'Why did you give us a phone number, when we do call we cannot get you by name?' He was very angry, and he repeated that I should remove the notation of the telephone number from the phone book. And, of course, we had a quarrel. I told him that this was . . . some more of his foolishness. . . . It was incomprehensible to me why he was so secretive all the time (italics mine)."

Oswald's shock at being thus abruptly reminded of the rip in his cloak of invisibility may be imagined. It is probable that by this date—Monday, November eighteenth—he was at least considering a try at killing the President as the motorcade passed the Depository. Would Ruth Paine, being reminded that she had his phone number, now think of giving it to the FBI in lieu of his address?

Uncertainty as to whether the FBI had discovered his rooming house governed at least one important and revealing act of the assassin after twelve-thirty p.m. November twenty-second when he shot the President. And it answers a baffling question evaded by the authors of the Warren Report as well as every other writer who has attempted to set down the events of that tragic day: *where was Oswald going when he encountered, and summarily gunned down, officer Tippit?*

First, we must ask ourselves whether Oswald believed he could ultimately escape. The answer has to be no. On the morning of November twenty-second he left \$170 in Marina's bureau drawer in Irving and took only about fifteen dollars with him. (Thus the assassination was also an act of ultimate suicide. It may be noted that this was not entirely out of character since Oswald had made a suicide attempt four years earlier—and in an ideological context.)

Unlike the classic assassin-fanatic of history, who usually stayed at the scene of the crime and compulsively babbled out his grievances against his victim, Oswald managed, through a combination of clever calculation and luck, to get clear of the Depository building. Why did he take the trouble to do this, realizing that in the end his life was surely forfeit? Obviously, he had some other task to accomplish—a task that involved getting back to his rooming house nearly two miles away across the Trinity River and arming himself with his revolver. Was the pistol meant for self-defense? That could hardly have been its purpose, for Oswald did not dream of escaping, as is evident from the small sum he took with him by contrast with the larger amount left with Marina. *Thus Oswald's basic intentions must have been offensive rather than defensive.*

Arriving unchallenged at his rooming house in Oak Cliff about one p.m., Oswald hurried to his room, snatched up the snub-nosed Smith & Wesson, thrust it into his belt, and donned a gray jack-

et to cover the butt of the weapon. Then, according to the testimony of Earlene Roberts, the housekeeper, he dashed out the front door zipping up his jacket. A moment later, she saw him standing immobile—after his frantic rush—in the bus stop in front of the next house to the north. Later still, when she looked out the northwest window again, he had disappeared.

The route of the Beckley bus that Oswald was evidently awaiting leads, as do practically all Dallas municipal lines, to the Central Transfer Point at Lamar and Main Streets in downtown Dallas. The same holds true of an alternate route in Oak Cliff, about a mile east-southeast of Oswald's rooming house. This second bus line runs along Jefferson Boulevard to the Trinity River bank, then crosses the wide river flats on a viaduct well to the south of that used by the Beckley bus. It, too, goes to the Central Transfer Point, but it avoids the Book Depository and Dealey Plaza. *From the Central Transfer Point, the Preston Hollow bus runs to within a block and a half of the office-residence of General Edwin Walker.*

Now we may visualize Oswald waiting briefly at the bus stop in front of 1028 North Beckley Street, one door north of his rooming house. No bus is in sight as far as the crest of the low hill to the south. At first triumphant and aglow with the feel of the Smith & Wesson digging into his right hip, he now has time for reflection, and he suddenly remembers that Ruth Paine has his phone number and that the FBI has been trying to uncover his address. Had Ruth suddenly come to her senses during the week and telephoned to the FBI the information she had possessed all along without realizing it? Or was it possible that the FBI shadowed him one day on his way home from work (though he probably took the precaution of riding past his rooming house and walking back)? Oswald reflects that the vicinity of 1026 North Beckley Street is potentially the worst place in all Dallas to wait for a bus now that the lunch hour at the Depository has ended and his absence probably will be noticed. Suddenly he thinks of the alternate route along Jefferson about a mile away, and an unfrequented bus stop on it near the Oak Cliff Public Library. He walks briskly into the maze of streets to the southeast and, less than two blocks short of the bus stop at Jefferson and Denver, is challenged by a cop who draws silently alongside him in a patrol car. After slaughtering Tippit with a noisy fusillade of no fewer than four shots in the head and chest, Oswald reverses direction, flees along Jefferson to the west to cower in the Texas Theater, his plans against Walker frustrated—at least until after nightfall.

In Oswald, we have the first assassin-fanatic in history who planned, if his affairs went well, to kill two victims in different parts of a city on the same day. *For, in spite of his success in hitting the President, Oswald never forgot*

Walker, against whom he had plotted for ten months or more.

### III: HUGGER-MUGGER IN WALKER'S ALLEY

HAVING rented an apartment of his own on Mercedes Street in Fort Worth in the first days of August, 1962, Oswald picked up the broken thread of his Marxist career. From mid-June, when he and his wife and daughter had arrived from Russia, they had stayed first with his elder brother Robert, then with his mother. Now, with no one to peer over his shoulder but Marina, who refrained from doing so in fear of his hot temper, he subscribed to the Communist *Worker* (urgently, by airmail, on August fifth) and a week later wrote a note of inquiry to the Castro-adoring Trotskyite Socialist Workers party that brought him a pamphlet outlining that organization's Marxist revolutionary program. Sometime between early August and October eighth, he also established contact with the Castro-fronting Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

He was just in time to become emotionally—indeed, according to Marina, explosively—involved in the Cuban Missile Crisis, the opening story of which appeared August seventeenth in the Dallas *Morning News* under the front-page banner: RUSSIAN TROOPS REPORTED IN CUBA.

As the reports grew more alarming President Kennedy, on September seventh, asked the adjourning Congress for standby authority to call up 150,000 reservists to meet a "critical international situation." Early the following week, Castro accused the United States of preparing an invasion, "playing with fire and with war."

At this juncture in September 1962, General Walker began a semi-accidental self-involvement in the Missile Crisis that, oddly enough, culminated in a bullet's crashing into his study on April tenth the following year. On September fourteenth, the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, under the headline TRAIN ARMY IN CUBA, EX-GENERAL SUGGESTS, printed the report of a Walker speech to ranchers of Lampasas County who were protesting the projected use of their land for Army maneuvers. The story quoted the ultra-right segregationist as saying that "if Fort Hood needs any maneuver or training grounds, it should be training in Cuba now."

A fortnight later, when James Meredith, a Negro scholar, sought to enter the hitherto all-white University of Mississippi against the opposition of Governor Ross Barnett, the general transferred his activities from rural Texas to Oxford, Mississippi, with a weird "Battle Cry of the Republic" carried in newspapers and over radio: "Barnett yes, Castro no!"

On the night of Sunday, September thirteenth-Monday October first, Walker was on the scene when rioting broke out against 400 Federal marshals escorting Meredith on campus, a *melée* that left two dead and seventy injured. On Monday morning, Walker was ar-

rested by the National Guard on four counts, including insurrection, and was flown to the Federal prison-hospital at Springfield, Missouri, for psychiatric examination. Apparently, according to one of his attorneys, he had been telling the marshals that "the real war was in Cuba and not in Mississippi." On Sunday, October seventh, the general was released in \$50,000 bond under an agreement that he would submit to psychiatric examination in his home city of Dallas. He flew there that afternoon and was greeted, according to newspaper accounts, by 250 enthusiastic followers at Love Field.

On that same afternoon, in nearby Fort Worth, according to guests gathered at the Oswald's ramshackle apartment for an impromptu party, Lee made a sudden, inexplicable decision to move to Dallas. By Tuesday, he was in the bigger city to the east renting his first post-office box (presumably because of a complaint of subversive mail that had brought a snooping postal inspector to Mercedes Street) and seeking a job. Three days later, he began work as a photo-print trainee at the Dallas graphic-arts firm of Jaggars-Chiles-Stovall.

Following Walker's return to Dallas, the general's legal artillery opened fire on the government positions. There were Walker stories in the *Morning News* on October 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, and 19. These mingled, usually on the front page, with even more prominently displayed reports about the still-mysterious Soviet-weapons buildup in Cuba.

On Monday, October twenty-second, President Kennedy acted on U-2 photographic proof of big ground-to-ground missiles' presence in Castro's stronghold. Choosing a moderate course, he declared a stop-and-search quarantine on offensive weapons bound for Cuba from the USSR by sea. The resulting confrontation with the Soviet Union—noisy, bitter, and nerve-racking for its short duration—ended Sunday, October twenty-eighth, as Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles and some short-range bombers smuggled in simultaneously and Kennedy undertook not to invade Cuba provided that an international inspection team—preferably UN—verified the offensive weapons' withdrawal from the island.

This sudden settlement was an earth-shaking shock to Fidel Castro, who had been left out of it completely. As far as he was able, without too deeply offending his Russian ally (and financial supporter), the Cuban prime minister obstructed the withdrawal of the missiles and bombers, refused to allow any form of inspection and insulted U Thant, who flew to Cuba to negotiate. It was on either Monday or Tuesday of that week that Oswald, probably moved by Castro's rantings and ravings, sent in an application to join the Fidelist cult of the Trotskyite SWP, for it arrived at party headquarters in New York on Wednesday, October thirty-first, having been airmailed. The following Sunday, Oswald quarreled with

Marina over her smoking and, before a witness, slapped her for leaving a zipper on her dress partly open. The next night, on the occasion of yet another quarrel provoked by Oswald's obvious tenseness, Marina left him, taking their daughter and staying with various Russian-speaking friends for a fortnight. She returned to him on November nineteenth only, according to her testimony, after he got down on his knees and wept and implored. After that, only an older couple named George and Jeanne De Mohrenschildt continued social relations with the Oswalds.

Following the big-power settlement of October twenty-eighth (as opposed to the Castro-manufactured crisis, which raged on beyond that date), Walker reappeared in the *Morning News* of November 9, 11, 13, 20 and 22, as he finally underwent his examination and was pronounced fit to stand trial by the Federal court in Oxford. Then on January 21, 1963, after all the fuss and fuming, the Federal grand jury in Oxford adjourned without voting to indict the general on any of the charges against him. On January twenty-second, 1963 the *Morning News* front-paged the dismissal without prejudice of the accusations, and later, Walker issued a short statement saying, "I am glad to be vindicated... Today, my hopes returned to the Cubans and millions of others who long to return to their homes after having escaped from the jails and boundaries of police states."

On the following Sunday, Oswald ordered from a California mail-order house a .38 Smith & Wesson revolver. He did so in the name of Alek Hidell. "Alek" had been Oswald's nickname in Russia. Obviously, Hidell is "Fidel" with the "F" dropped and an "L" for "Lee" and an "H" for "Harvey" wrapped in close embrace around the remaining "idel." True, the "L" and "H" are reversed, but it may be borne in mind that this revealing alias came, in all probability, from the same brain that later fashioned the backward fantasy of "O. H. Lee" (A later document in New Orleans is signed "Hidell." Here, the construction becomes even plainer, with a backward "Lee" smirking on the end.)

Thus, on the weekend immediately after Walker was cleared of Federal charges, Oswald ordered a lethal weapon under an alias that attests his devotion to the cause of Fidel Castro.

At about the same time—late January, 1963—Oswald began insisting that his wife and their baby daughter, whom he adored and spoiled, go back to the Soviet Union. He refused to contemplate a divorce, however, saying, according to Marina's testimony, "that would break everything between us." The Warren Commission puzzled over this and never did discover what Oswald had in mind, though what he was saying was rather simple: for a reason he could not disclose to Marina, he wanted her to go to Russia but didn't want to get rid of her permanently. Thus what Oswald was driving at was a

## Why was the FBI on Oswald's trail before the assassination?

temporary separation to be followed by a reunion with his family sometime, somewhere.

On January seventh, the Russians had instituted, with appropriate fanfare, a regular nonstop jet service between the USSR and Cuba. It seems probable that this new facility formed the final strand in the thread of Oswald's plan to murder Walker. He would send Marina and the child off to Russia while he worked out final details and committed the crime. Immediately afterward, he would flee to Havana via Mexico. At the Cuban consulate in Mexico City, he would have to furnish proof that he was indeed the mysterious marksman who had rid Castro of this notorious "fascist" enemy. In Havana, he would be hailed as a hero, and Marina and the child would be flown in from the USSR for a glorious reunion.

And what proof could he submit to Cuban officials in Mexico, gateway to Havana via Cuban plane, that he was truly the executioner of Walker? A notebook on the operation! And, according to Marina's testimony, he started work on one in early February. She did not see what it contained until "about three days" after April tenth when Oswald fired and missed, and then, as he was burning the book, page by page, didn't know what it said because she couldn't read English. It contained, she later testified, a Dallas map and some sort of bus schedules, and *photographs*, which he was taking out and preserving. Why he did this she doesn't know to this day, nor does the Warren Commission. Presumably, they were to be the basis for another notebook when the time for another try at Walker rolled around—probably in late 1963 or early 1964. Carefully, Oswald poked a hole in one of the photographs, obliterating the license plate of an old Chevrolet pictured as parked near the back of Walker's house.

Unwittingly, Walker co-operated in the taking of the photographs. As Oswald was able to discover from a story in the *Dallas Morning News* of February fourteenth, the general was to be away from February twenty-seventh to April third, on a twenty-six-city coast-to-coast lecture tour to be called "Operation Midnight Ride." Thus on Sunday, March tenth, Oswald and a confederate, sure of Walker's absence (the *Dallas Times-Herald* was reporting the general's progress in a series of press-association stories, which also said he was advocating a U.S. invasion of Cuba) drove miles across Dallas from Oak Cliff, west of the Trinity River, to the north-central boundary of the city where Walker's big gray house on fash-

ionable Turtle Creek Boulevard sits on an eminence next to the driveway and parking lot of a beautiful modern Mormon church. (Why a confederate? Oswald had no car, couldn't drive, and surely was protecting someone's identity when he obliterated that license plate in one of the photographs he retained after the crime.) On March twelfth Oswald ordered, from a mail-order house in Chicago, the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle with which he was to miss Walker and, ultimately, murder the President of the United States. The acquisition of the rifle (also under the alias of A. Hideel) indicates that his photo-reconnaissance of Walker's house led him to recast his original plan of killing the general with a pointblank shot from a snub-nosed revolver, probably on his front doorstep at night, to a sniper attack from the rear alley with a rifle bullet through the window of Walker's study at the rear of the house.

Meanwhile, Marina had been resisting Oswald's pressure to return to Russia. So violent were their quarrels that at the end of their rental month—March third—they were forced to move to another Oak Cliff apartment nearby. However, on February seventeenth, Oswald finally had prevailed upon his bruised wife to write to the Russian Embassy in Washington requesting repatriation even though she wished strongly to stay in the United States. On March eighth, the Embassy replied that the processing of her request would take "five to six months."

Did Oswald accept this delay in his murderous plan? Presumably, he did at first, for on March seventeenth, Marina, again under duress, filled out and sent to the Russian Embassy several items requested in its March eighth communication. Then, too, on March twenty-fourth, Oswald sent a letter to the Trotskyite SWP asking for closer identification with the party (his application for membership of the previous October had been turned down on technical grounds) and inquiring what the youth in the movement were doing. If he had known that less than three weeks later he would be taking his shot at Walker, would he have bothered to write?

One day earlier, Oswald had been told at the graphic arts firm where he worked that his employment would be terminated on Saturday, April sixth. On March thirtieth with the pressure to hold his job removed, Oswald staged some sort of "Viva Fidel" demonstration in downtown Dallas not far from his office. The next day, he wrote Fair Play for Cuba Committee headquarters in New York asking for "forty or fifty more of the fine, basic pamphlets" and saying he had run out of the "fifteen or so" he had been passing out. This seems convincing proof that Oswald did not, at this time, dream of shooting Walker as early as April tenth, since he could only have wanted more pamphlets to stage another demonstration in Dallas. Moreover, he would hardly have risked drawing the attention of the police with the demonstration he

did, in fact, stage if he had been contemplating murder within ten days.

On the same Sunday that he wrote this note, Oswald appeared, in the backyard of their apartment, where Marina was hanging out clothes, with his rifle and pistol and copies of the March twenty-fourth *Worker* and the March eleventh *Militant*. He had her take two pictures of him, one of which, early in 1964, became a "Life" cover and achieved worldwide circulation in the press. Worldwide circulation it may have achieved but no one in the world—including the FBI and the Warren Commission staff—asked himself why Oswald selected the March eleventh issue of the *Militant* over the two later issues he would have possessed, or bothered to look through that issue thoroughly. For on page seven, there is a letter from Dallas signed "L.H."—the same initials used to convert "Fidel" into "Hideel"! The subject matter is essentially unremarkable, detailing the misadventures of a Mrs. Marie Ortiz and her children in a late-January fire and criticizing the society that allows such poverty as theirs to exist. What is remarkable about this new piece of evidence is that Oswald himself could hardly have written so literate a communication. Moreover, whoever ghosted it for him converted the "Mary Ortiz" that appears in the Dallas newspaper accounts of the blaze into "Marie Ortiz," a substitution that surely hints at a European background.

Between Sunday March thirty-first and Tuesday April second, something occurred to make Oswald change his mind about waiting the "five or six months" it would take to send Marina to Russia, for on the latter date, he paid the rent and utilities and unprecendently gave Marina a lump sum of sixty dollars. Hitherto, he had doled out the money dollar by dollar. What reason did he advance for this apparent generosity, actually meant as survival money for Marina when he fled to Mexico and Cuba? We do not know because the Commission staff didn't think to ask Marina the question. Instead, they simply accepted the version of the crime detailed to Marina by Oswald, opining that possibly Oswald wanted to be caught, and interpreting the notebook as having to do with his interest in interpreting a place in history for himself.

According to the *Warren Report*: "He [Oswald] went to the Walker residence on the night of April sixth or seventh [Saturday or Sunday] planning to make his attack. However, he changed his plans, hid his rifle nearby, and determined to act on the following Wednesday, April tenth, when a nearby church was planning a meeting which, Oswald reasoned, would create a diversion that would help him escape." This passage is based on Marina's testimony that Oswald told her he deferred the actual attack to the Wednesday night of the church meeting because "there were many people there, and it was easier to merge in the crowd and not be noticed."

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Here we must ask ourselves—as the Commission obviously didn't—whether Oswald bent on murder with a rifle in a neighborhood would choose a spot when a church adjacent to the home of his target would be brilliantly lit, and he could "merge in the crowd and not be noticed" on foot, and with a fully assembled rifle in his hand after the sound of a shot had alerted all within hearing distance.

However, there is an even better reason than the inherent nonsensicality of Oswald's wait-till-the-church-meeting-story to stamp it as false, and if a member of the Commission staff had asked up the Dallas Morning News's accounts on the crime, he would have spotted it at once. Oswald didn't fire on the weekend night or on Monday because Walker, delaying his return from Operation Midnight Ride with a sojourn on the West Coast, didn't arrive home until very late on the night of Monday the eighth: he simply wasn't there to be shot at!

Here, it may be noted that the same factors that render Oswald's merge-in-the-crowd story ridiculous as applying to a man afoot with a rifle do apply with some force to an assassin making his effort from a car driven by a confederate. A solitary car in an otherwise deserted parking lot beside an empty, unlighted church would automatically seize the attention of anyone alerted by the sound of a shot as its lights went on and it moved out onto the city streets from the dark alley system that flanks Walker's property on two sides. Under the circumstances, it would be far better to have cars in the lot, and the church and lot floodlit, with a general feeling of vehicular commotion and goings in the vicinity.

Apart from the car in the photograph taken March tenth, is there any evidence of other cars possibly connected with the shot on April tenth? Walker spotted one leaving the church driveway as he went upstairs to get his pistol and explore the back alley soon after he was fired at. More important, early on Monday night, before the general's return, Robert A. Surrey, a Walker friend and associate, visited the Turtle Creek residence and "saw two men around the house peering in windows." He spotted their car parked on Avondale, the street at the end of Walker's back alley opposite the church parking-lot end. It was a dark-colored new Ford and it bore no license plates. Surrey never got close enough to the men to identify them, but when they returned to their car, he showed them all the way downtown in the direction, incidentally, of Oak Cliff until "they made a turn which would indicate they were doubling back." He then gave up.

On the night of April tenth, at nine o'clock, Walker Kirk Coleman, a four-year-old, was standing near an outside door of his home when he heard what he took to be a backfire. Leaving his back yard to the fence separating it from the church lot, he climbed on a bicycle and looked over. According to what he told the police and, much later, the FBI, Coleman saw

one man get into a 1950 Ford (whose engine was already running and whose lights were on) and drive down the church driveway into Turtle Creek Boulevard. He then noticed a second man at the driver's side of a "1958 black-over-white Chevrolet sedan," also parked in the church lot not far from the entrance to Walker's back alley. Shown photographs of Oswald by the FBI, Coleman said they didn't resemble either man, which dovetails with the fact that Oswald couldn't drive. Neither was reacting to the sound of the shot from the alley seconds earlier, though, so it would seem possible that they were sentinels, placed at both ends of Walker's alley while the car containing Oswald and an unknown driver—perhaps the dark, new Ford that Surrey sighted Monday night—came up the church driveway from Turtle Creek, turned left away from the floodlit church lot into the dark alley, paused for seconds while Oswald got off one shot over the back fence, then took off into Avondale with the sniper and the rifle (with its single empty shell still in the chamber) in the back seat.

Right after supper that night, Oswald had left the Oak Cliff apartment empty-handed. Marina believed he was bound for a typing class in downtown Dallas that he had attended sporadically since mid-January. Usually he returned from the class about nine o'clock, but on this night of April tenth, time crept on far beyond that hour. Marina, worried and restless, paced the apartment. Finally, she invaded her husband's closet-like study, where he kept his weapons and worked on his notebook. The rifle wasn't there (she had seen him take it out Sunday evening, wrapped in a raincoat, and assumed he was going to practice at targets, as he said he had done a couple of times earlier). Instead, there was a note of instructions written in Russian.

Since the message contained the phrase, "if I am... taken prisoner," and a reference to the city jail, the Commission staff carelessly thought of it and wrote of it in the Warren Report as simply telling Marina "what to do if he were apprehended." Actually, what it implies is that Oswald meant to disappear. Its very existence signifies that if he saw his bullet take effect on Walker he did not intend to return home. There is a reference to the sixty dollars he had given Marina on April second, which plainly implies that he had the rest of the family funds, amounting to approximately \$200, with him to take him to Cuba.

But what of the notebook designed to convince the Cuban officials in Mexico City that he had effected the execution of Walker? If the escape thesis is correct, it must have been with the rifle. Is there any evidence indicating this? There is, and as usual, the Commission staff, with its customary reluctance to look at the other side of a given coin (i.e. what was Oswald's plan in case he had hit Walker instead of missing), muffled it altogether. According to Ma-

rina's testimony "... it was the weekend, Saturday or Sunday [April thirteenth or fourteenth] when Lee brought the rifle back home..."

Q: Had he destroyed the notebook before he brought the rifle home?

A: No... He destroyed the book approximately an hour after he brought the rifle home.

Commission counsel innocently wondered why Oswald waited so long to destroy this incriminating evidence, but the explanation that rifle and notebook had been away from the apartment together never dawned on him.

Reading the references to capture and jail in Oswald's note the night of April tenth, Marina realized that her husband had been up to some hugger-mugger, and when he arrived home very late, pale and shaken, she demanded to know what it was. He admitted he had shot at General Walker, said he didn't know whether he had hit or missed, and turned on the radio to see if there was any news on that score. He wouldn't say any more that night, but the following morning, he told her his phony church-meeting story, said he had traveled across Dallas and back by bus, and told her the rifle was buried somewhere near Walker's place. He justified his action by saying that Walker was a fascist, reminded her that if Adolf Hitler had been killed in time a lot of people would have been spared. According to Marina's testimony, "He was very sorry that he had not hit him."

Marina tucked the note into a cookbook (where it was found early in the second week following the Presidential assassination) and extracted from Oswald a promise of future nonviolence (which he implicitly retracted by his demonstration of ferocity against Nixon on April twenty-first).

Was it Saturday or was it Sunday that Oswald brought the rifle and notebook home? There is doubt on that score. Sunday, April fourteenth, was Easter, and on that date, a Fort Worth couple the Oswalds had known in 1962 dropped by with a present for the baby. While John Hall and Oswald conversed in the living room, Elena Hall and Marina talked privately in the bedroom. Elena noted that Marina was sunburned and asked her where she had been. Marina said they had been fishing all day—presumably on Saturday. If this were so, how could Oswald have retrieved the rifle?

Yet there exists testimony by George Y and Jeanne De Mohrenschildt, a Russian-speaking older couple who had befriended the Oswalds since the previous September, that the rifle was definitely at the Oswalds' apartment on the night of Saturday April thirteenth when they, too, had dropped in unexpectedly with an Easter gift for the baby. According to Jeanne, Marina, in the course of showing her the apartment, opened the door of Oswald's study and disclosed the rifle standing in a corner. Allegedly, a conversation ensued, in the course of which George asked Lee, as a pleasantry, whether it hadn't been he

who had taken the pot shot at Walker earlier in the week.

According to the *Warren Report*, "Marina testified that . . . when De Mohrenschildt made his reference to Oswald's possibly shooting at Walker, Oswald's 'face changed . . . he became almost speechless.' According to the De Mohrenschildts, Mr. De Mohrenschildt's remark was intended as a joke, and he had no knowledge of Oswald's involvement in the attack on Walker. Nonetheless, the remark appears to have created an uncomfortable silence, and the De Mohrenschildts left very soon afterward. . . ."

That is an outright distortion of Marina's testimony. Asked whether she had shown the rifle to the De Mohrenschildts, she replied, "I know that De Mohrenschildt said that the rifle had been shown to him, but I don't remember that." According to her, Oswald's change of expression occurred under very different circumstances: "Several days after [April tenth], the De Mohrenschildts came to us, and as soon as he opened the door he said, 'Lee, how is it possible that you missed?' I looked at Lee. I thought he had told De Mohrenschildt about it. . . . I noticed that his face changed, that he became almost speechless. . . ."

Asked about this, De Mohrenschildt answered the query with another question: "How could I have said that when I didn't know he had a gun?"

Queried again on this point at her final interrogation in September, 1964, Marina said, "De Mohrenschildt—as soon as he opened the door, he said to Lee, 'How could you have missed? How could you have missed him?'"

There, in a welter of conflict, confusion, and misconception, the affair of Oswald's shot at Walker was allowed to rest, along with the matter of a perfectly obvious motive muffed through the ignoring of evidence and lack of background on the part of certain members of the Warren Commission staff. There, both will remain until—invariably—a new investigative body with brains and time to match its authority and probity will at last unravel these tangled webs.

#### IV: WHO ARE THE DE MOHRENSCHILDTS?

SUNDAY, November 18, 1962, the date that Marina returned to Lee after their quarrel and two-week separation, marked a dividing line in the Oswalds' life. Henceforward, they were to be ostracized by virtually the entire Russian-speaking community of Dallas, who despised and feared Oswald for his Marxist rudeness but liked and pitied the apolitical Marina, who had disappointed them by returning to live with him. According to Katya Ford's testimony: ". . . It was just, rather, sort of, Marina and her husband were dropped at that time, nobody actually wanted to help."

Marina's statements show she was aware of the ostracism.

"Q: Can you give us about the time, just approximately when you noticed that difference?"

"A: Soon after arriving in Dallas.

Mostly, it was De Mohrenschildt who visited us. He was the only one who remained our friend. The others sort of removed themselves."

Mrs. Ford's testimony makes it clear that the Russian community was generally aware that the De Mohrenschildts stood almost alone in continuing to see the Oswalds:

"Q: You mentioned before that De Mohrenschildt was the only member of the Russian community that kept on seeing the Oswalds and trying to help them. Was there any discussion about that among your friends?"

"A: Yes; George De Mohrenschildt is rather an odd ball, among Russians anyway, so it was nothing unusual about him doing that. . . ."

The testimony of Mrs. Ford's husband, Declan, throws additional light, although the light of hearsay, on the continued relationship:

"Q: How old are the De Mohrenschildts?"

"A: I guess George De Mohrenschildt is between fifty and fifty-five years old."

"Q: Did it seem curious to you that a man of that age would be close to Lee Oswald who was around twenty-one or twenty-two at that particular time?"

"A: Not in the particular case."

"Q: Why do you say that?"

"A: Well, George De Mohrenschildt has a reputation for being a left-wing enthusiast or something, I don't mean a member of the Communist Party, but . . . I have heard other people say he has expounded the ideals of Marxism, and since Lee Oswald is supposedly Marxist or a Communist, they would agree on their political views. . . ."

"Q: Your knowledge of De Mohrenschildt's political views are [sic] hearsay?"

"A: All of it is hearsay."

"Q: How did you learn about Oswald's political views?"

"A: Also hearsay, from other people."

Who are the De Mohrenschildts? What is their background? At this point Chapter VI of the *Warren Report* had better be consulted:

"George De Mohrenschildt and his wife, both of whom speak Russian as well as several other languages . . . did continue to see the Oswalds on occasion up to about the time Oswald went to New Orleans on April 24, 1963. De Mohrenschildt was apparently the only Russian-speaking person in Dallas for whom Oswald had appreciable respect. . . ."

"Extensive investigation has been conducted into the background of both De Mohrenschildts. The investigation has revealed that George De Mohrenschildt is a highly individualistic person of varied interests. He was born in the Russian Ukraine in 1911 and fled Russia with his parents in 1921 during the civil disorder following the revolution. He was in a Polish military academy for a year and a half. Later, he studied in Antwerp and at-

tended the University of Liège from which he received a doctor's degree in international commerce in 1928 [surely a misprint for 1938]. Soon thereafter, he emigrated to the United States; he became a U.S. citizen in 1949. De Mohrenschildt eventually became interested in oil exploration and production. He entered the University of Texas in 1944 and received a master's degree in petroleum geology and petroleum engineering in 1945. He has since become active as a petroleum engineer throughout the world. In 1960, after the death of his son, he and his wife made an eight-month hike from the United States-Mexican border to Panama over primitive jungle trails. . . . Upon arriving in Panama, they journeyed to Haiti where De Mohrenschildt eventually became involved in a government-oriented business venture in which he has been engaged continuously from June 1963 until the time of this report. . . ."

"Jeanne De Mohrenschildt was born in Harbin, China, of White Russian parents. She left during the war with Japan, coming to New York in 1938 where she became a successful ladies' dress and sportswear apparel designer. She married her present husband in 1959."

"The Commission's investigation has developed no signs of subversive or disloyal conduct on the part of either of the De Mohrenschildts. Neither the FBI, CIA, nor any witness contacted by the Commission has provided any information linking the De Mohrenschildts to subversive or extremist organizations. Nor has there been any evidence linking them in any way with the assassination of President Kennedy [italics mine]."

How did Marina view her husband's relationship with George De Mohrenschildt? According to her testimony: "Lee did not have any close friends, but at least he had—here in America—he had a great deal of respect for De Mohrenschildt."

"Q: Could you describe that relationship? Did they see each other often?"

"A: No, not very frequently. From time to time. . . ."

"Q: Did you like him?"

"A: Yes. Him and his wife."

"Q: Did you understand any of the conversations between your husband and De Mohrenschildt?"

"A: Yes, they were held in Russian."

"Q: Did they discuss politics or the Marxist philosophy or anything of that kind?"

"A: Being men, of course, sometimes they talked about politics, but they did not discuss Marxist philosophy. They spoke about current political events."

Igor Voshinin, a member of the Russian community whose wife once worked for De Mohrenschildt described him as "a big, athletic man, a permanent tennis player—always playing tennis and liked all kinds of sports, you know; he would go to the ice arena there in the Fair Park, you know, and he devoted always a lot of time to sports." (continued on page 40)

of a twenty-year-old student at the University of Moscow. Fanya Kaplin was a Social Revolutionary who believed as fervently in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as any Communist. But every time Miss Kaplin thought about what Lenin and his followers were doing to her beloved proletarians, her idealistic little soul twisted in agony. Like many an idealist before and since, she decided that what was needed was direct and violent action.

So, on September first, she fired two bullets into Lenin. Her aim was almost—but not quite—as bad as her timing. One bullet plowed into Lenin's left lung; the second hit him in his right arm. Neither wound was fatal and Lenin lived. However, Fanya was arrested and executed.

The heat was on. Commissar Sverdlov, President of the Communist Party's Central Executive Committee, roared to assorted, assembled comrades. "To meet this White Terror, we must institute wholesale Red Terror."

The logical man to carry out the Terror was, of course, the head of the Tcheka, one Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinski. Dzerzhinski was a Polish Communist who had spent most of his adult life in Czarist prisons or Siberian exile. Having led a completely miserable existence, his greatest delight was in making other peoples' lives as miserable as his own had been.

Meanwhile, Marchand completed his leg work and confirmed Reilly's suspicions by turning in a report to the Kremlin. It made headlines in *Izvestia*, with all of the gory details and even gorier exaggerations. Added to the Reilly plan were such imaginative morsels as the blowing up of dams, the flooding of cities, the forced starving of the entire Russian populace. The paper blamed "... the British diplomat, Lockhart, and his agent, the notorious spy, Sidney George Reilly."

To counter the possibility of an uprising, Commissar of the Army Trotsky ordered loyal Red troops from where they had

been facing against the likelihood of a German invasion of Moscow and Petrograd. The Lettish mercenaries were disarmed, the White troops scattered, and Boris Savinkoff fled for his life. Lockhart was arrested, and so were most of Reilly's agents. But Reilly, with his sixth sense for self-preservation, dug deep underground.

Lockhart was questioned by Tcheka agents. "Where is Reilly?"

He shook his head and patiently explained that he was not Reilly's keeper.

When Dzerzhinski heard that Reilly had walked into the Kremlin and then out again, he groaned aloud at this sample of incompetence. He authorized a heavy reward for the capture of Captain Sidney George Reilly, notorious English spy. But posting reward notices and capturing Reilly were two entirely different matters.

Reilly left Petrograd, traveling to Moscow. Wrong direction? And he knew it. To anyone else, this would have been like diving from a sizzling skillet into a blazing inferno. But Reilly was no one else. When he alighted at the Moscow station, he was accosted by a guard. He handed over his identity papers, proving him to be Comrade Relinsky, Tcheka agent.

The guard gave them the once over, and asked a few questions.

Reilly answered curtly.

The guard, noting his un-Russian accent, said, "You don't sound like a Russian."

Reilly fixed his most ferocious Tcheka stare on the sentry and snapped, "Of course not, you fool. I am a Pole."

"Pass, Comrade Relinsky."

In the city, he dropped out of sight, and when he reappeared, he was disguised as a tramp. He moved north through the vast Russian countryside, evading and eluding Tcheka agents and Red Army units. At last, he crossed the frontier into Finland, and could start to breathe again.

Meanwhile, Lockhart was still a prisoner, his future looking darker and more dismal with each passing day. But in those days,

England knew how to insure the safety of her diplomats, if not of her spies. The famed Communist Maxim Litvinov was in London with his English wife. He was imprisoned, and Russia was informed that the fates of Lockhart and Litvinov were tied together. Whatever happened to the one would most certainly happen to the other. By a special agreement they were simultaneously released.

René Marchand remained in Russia through the death of Lenin, the rise of Stalin, the exile of Trotsky. Then, in 1931, he returned to his native France and renounced Communism and the Communists.

The Communists never forgot nor forgave Reilly. The reward ordered at the behest of Comrade Dzerzhinski was the first of three substantially increasing rewards they offered for either proof of his death or his capture and delivery to Russia. And then Reilly aroused their anger even more. The Russians had successfully negotiated a huge loan from the United States; both public opinion and congressional sentiment favored it. Reilly hurried across the Atlantic and stumped the nation, denouncing Communism, telling his stories of the Red Terror. By dint of his considerable persuasive powers, he forced a shift in public and congressional opinion. The loan, which Russian diplomats had all but sewed up, was withdrawn.

In 1923, seeking to help friends in Russia, he left for the Russo-Finnish border, and somewhere along its dim wastes, the trail of Sidney George Reilly came to an end. The Russians triumphantly claimed that they had killed him as he tried to cross into Russia. But there were many who refused to believe that the master spy of his time, one of espionage's all-time greats, could die this easily. Rumors, as early as 1926, kept coming out of Russia placing Reilly alive in this Soviet prison or in that Communist labor camp. But, in 1945, even the rumors stopped, and there was dead silence. □

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It was at this skating rink and on the tennis courts that a petroleum chemist named Everett D. Glover met the De Mohrenschildts; a passage in his testimony may well solve the mystery of why Oswald—who quarreled on politics with virtually the entire Russian-speaking community—found it possible during and after the Missile Crisis to maintain his relationship with the De Mohrenschildts. For, according to Glover, when the President took action against the clear and present danger of the Russian nuclear threat from Cuba, De Mohrenschildt found it impossible to support him:

"The substance of what he said is that he didn't like what Kennedy was doing at all. And the reason he gave, as far as I can remember, was the possible involvement in a nuclear war. . . . In other words, he was suggesting that he was sympathetic with Castro—at least, I thought so—well, Castro is all right, he can't do any harm, he is just a little guy, and this is the general impression I got. Again, those may not be the exact expressions that he may have used. . . . He certainly

never, in my acquaintance with him, tried to make out a case for the Communist system against our system. It was just sort of his shouting off about this thing I just described."

According to the testimony of the Voshinins, De Mohrenschildt tried rather strenuously to get them to meet the Oswalds, but they steadfastly refused.

Voshinin thanked the Almighty that this was so:

"So, anyhow, these people [the De Mohrenschildts] are, of course, leftist people."

"Q: The De Mohrenschildts are leftist?"

"A: Yeah. But she much more than him. . . . She was always bitterly to the left."

"Q: Did you ever meet either Lee or Marina Oswald?"

"A: No, sir, thank God!"

Mrs. Voshinin testified:

"According to George, he [Oswald] was a great—he had great intellectual powers; he was a very clever person—definitely intellectually inclined and a very well-read person. . . . We wanted

to stay away from them. Yes. And the De Mohrenschildts argued with us about that. . . . He [George] told me on several occasions, 'You know, I believe that he's just an idealistical Marxist.' And he said, 'You know, he's one of those pure Marxists.' . . .

"And finally I remember a pretty good conversation—George mentioned the possibility of Oswald being actually a Communist. Because, he said, 'I believe he remained what he was.' . . .

That does not square very well, to say the least, with what De Mohrenschildt told the Commission's interrogating attorney about Lee Oswald:

"His mind was of a man with exceedingly poor background, who read rather advanced books, and did not understand even the words in them. . . . He did not understand the words—he just used them. So how can you take seriously a person like that? You just laugh at him. But there was always an element of pity I had, and my wife had, for him."

One of the more outrageous coincidences of the John F. Kennedy case is that on Long Island shortly after

George De Mohrenschildt's arrival in the United States, he met a family named Bouvier and their young daughter, Jacqueline. After the assassination, he wrote, from Haiti, where he and Jeanne had arrived in mid-June of 1963, a letter of condolence (dated December 12, 1963) to Jacqueline's mother, now Mrs. Janet Lee Auchincloss of Washington, D.C. It reads in part:

"Dear Janet:

"We were appaled [*sic*] and deeply disgusted by President Kennedy's cowardly assassination [*sic*]. We were ashamed that it happened in our home town. May I ask you to express my deepest sympathy to your daughter and tell her that both my brother [a Dartmouth professor] and I will always remember her as a charming little girl from East Hampton. So many sorrows have been ruining her young life.

"Since we lived in Dallas permanently last year and before, we had the misfortune to have met Oswald [*sic*] and especially his wife Marina. Sometime last fall both my wife and I tried to help poor Marina who could not speak any English, was mistreated by her husband; she and the baby were malnourished [*sic*] and sickly. We took them to a hospital.

"Sometime last fall we heard that Oswald had beaten his wife cruelly, so we drove to their miserable place and forcibly took Marina and the child away from the character. Then he threatened me and my wife but I did not take him seriously. Marina stayed with the family of some childless Russian refugees for a while, keeping her baby, but finally decided to return to her husband. *Somewhat then, we lost interest in the Oswalds.* [*italics mine*]"

The final sentence is the very reverse of the truth in that, almost uniquely in the Russian-speaking community, the De Mohrenschildts did not "lose interest in" the Oswalds, as even their own testimony (which denigrates the frequency and importance of their contacts with the Oswalds) admits. The reader who enjoys being puzzled is directed to *Hearings*, Vol. IX, 273-275 and 323-325, in which the Commission attorney takes each of the De Mohrenschildts through the letter to Mrs. Auchincloss, sentence by sentence, and asks for clarification, sentence by sentence, that is—with the sole exception of "somehow then we lost interest in the Oswalds," which in each instance he omitted.

**I**n certain other matters, too, it seems as though the Commission staff (the interrogator and the writers of the Report) were trying harder to spare the De Mohrenschildts possible embarrassment than to get at the truth. For example, George was never asked about the statements that Glover alleged he made during the Missile Crisis, although Glover's testimony was a matter of record before De Mohrenschildt was questioned. De Mohren-

schildt was questioned concerning Oswald's attitude toward Castro, which he answered all too briefly: "He [Oswald] said that he had admiration for Castro for opposing such a big power as the United States." This may be compared with Glover's sworn statement as to what De Mohrenschildt himself said: "Castro . . . is just a little guy."

**A**bout the time in December 1963 that De Mohrenschildt wrote his letter of condolence to Mrs. Auchincloss, Christiana and Ragnar Bogoiavlensky-Kearton, Jeanne's daughter by a former marriage and the daughter's husband, visited Haiti for the Christmas-New Year season. They returned to Dallas shortly after the turn of 1964, and made the rounds of the De Mohrenschildts' friends reporting on life in Haiti. What they had to report, according to more than one De Mohrenschildt acquaintance of long standing, was that the American Embassy in Haiti was upset over the De Mohrenschildts' statements, at holiday diplomatic cocktail parties, about the assassination. The alleged substance of these is presented most clearly in the sworn statements of Mrs. Voshinin:

"You know, they [Ragnar and Christiana Bogoiavlensky-Kearton] said so much, I just hate to repeat it because I don't know how much they exaggerated. They were angry with both of them and I just don't believe that—"

"Q: Well, I don't want you to repeat all the personal things. I wanted your over-all impression, which you have now volunteered, that they were angry with George De Mohrenschildt and Mrs. De Mohrenschildt."

"A: Yes."

"Q: Angry in what sense?"

"A: Uh—they said that they were not very hospitable, for one thing, and for another thing, they—well, they said that George and Jeanne took a turn for the worse politically."

"Q: Well, now, would you develop that, please?"

"A: I hate to do that, because I just don't know how true it all is."

"Q: I understand that all you are doing is telling us what they said. It is pure hearsay. I understand."

"A: Pure hearsay of angry children."

"Q: Yes."

"A: That's what it is. Right? Well, they said that the majority of their trouble with Jeanne and George was because they were shooting their mouths off over there—pro-left and against the United States—something to that effect; Chris said that George was making the most—the funniest accusations—statements in public, you know, like at cocktail parties, for example."

"Q: Yes."

"A: That he does not believe Oswald murdered the President; he believes that right wing or FBI, I am not sure—and this was, of course, awfully shocking to the children."

"Q: He believed that the right wing or the FBI what?"

"A: That's what the children said."

"Q: What?"

"A: Murdered the President. That's what the children said."

If the foregoing is correct, the Bogoiavlensky-Keartons were quite right in characterizing statements that the FBI or the right wing killed Kennedy as "pro-left and against the United States," for that was in general the propaganda line emanating from Moscow and Havana both at the time of their visit to Haiti at the turn of 1963-64 and since.

In only one instance did the Commission staff take perceptible cognizance of this matter. Questioning attorney Max Clark of Fort Worth, a Commission interrogator asked:

"Do you have any question about De Mohrenschildt's loyalty to the United States?"

"A: None. I think he talks a lot and I think he is a character but I don't think he is disloyal in any respect."

"Q: Would it surprise you to hear that he was of the opinion that the FBI was responsible for the assassination and that Oswald was just a 'patsy' in effect?"

"A: Knowing George, he is liable to say anything. . . ."

**T**he Commission staff failed signally to pursue this further. The De Mohrenschildts never were asked directly whether they had been peddling such theories at gatherings of the diplomatic community in Port-au-Prince with the authority of having known the Oswalds well—theories that were very strange in the light of their later testimony that Oswald was not only a Marxist but a "revolutionary," the very model of the type of person that the FBI never would utilize for any purpose or on any pretext. The Bogoiavlensky-Keartons were never called as witnesses. Nor, apparently, did anyone connected with the Commission bother to ask our diplomatic representatives in Haiti whether they had been perturbed by the De Mohrenschildts' talk or whether indeed the De Mohrenschildts had said anything at all. The report of the FBI agent sent to Haiti after the assassination to interview the couple forms no part of the published record.

In the light of the fact that the De Mohrenschildts constituted virtually the only known association of the Oswalds in the four-month period prior to Lee's attempt on the life of General Walker and the added fact that their testimony concerning the events of the evening of Saturday, April thirteenth, the third night following that attempt, conflicts directly with that of Marina, this is a glaring omission. The general credibility of the De Mohrenschildts' testimony is extremely important to any intelligent examination of the pivotal Walker affair. No reinvestigation of the John F. Kennedy case that omits a relentlessly thorough questioning of the De Mohrenschildts can be in any sense complete.